**WARM HOLIDAY GREETINGS TO ALL THE FAMILY OF GUARDIAN ANGELS**

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THE BROKEN LIBERAL HEART

# Kennedy's Cabinet: It's Big Business and political payoff

By Russ Nixon
Special to the Guardian

WASHINGTON

MOVING QUICKLY to implement his basic political inclinations, President-elect Kennedy has selected a Cabinet dominated by Big Business. The Rockefeller Foundation has given its president, Dean Rusk, to be Secretary of State, the Wall Street international banking firm of Dillon Reed and the Republican Party Douglas Dillon to be Secretary of the Treasury; the Ford Motor Company its president, Robert S. McNamara, to head the Defense Department; the Prudential Life Insurance Company its vice president, J. Edward Day, to become Postmaster General, and North Carolina industrialist, Luther H. Hodges, will become Secretary of Commerce.

Joe Kennedy's second son, Robert, age 35, will become Attorney General in charge of J. Edgar Hoover, civil rights, civil liberties, anti-trust and other law enforcement.

**THE EARLY BIRDS:** Lesser Cabinet posts went to the President-elect's early backers who played key roles in his nomination and election. The moderately liberal Congressman Stewart L. Udall (D-Ariz.) will head the Interior Department. Just defeated in a bid for a fourth term as Governor of Minnesota, Orville L.

*(Continued on Page 4)*

**IF WINTER COMES, CAN KENNEDY BE FAR BEHIND?**

*Snow-covered branches frame the White House as it prepares for its new tenant. And even as a white mantle covers most of the nation, the thoughts of its people turn hopefully to a thaw in the cold war. Is that all right, Jack?*

Valtman, Hartford Times

**"Do you think we can get it through without taking it apart?"**

ALGERIA, LAOS, CONGO AND MORE

# Vote against colonial freedom tips U.S. hand

By Kumar Goshal

UNITED NATIONS, N.Y.

THE POSITION adopted by the U.S. delegation during the UN General Assembly debate on colonial freedom provided the clue to Washington's attitude toward all underdeveloped countries. It explained why the U.S. sided with France on the question of Algerian independence, with Portugal against Liberia for a Security Council seat, with Gen. Phoumi Nosavan in Laos, and with Belgium and its puppets in the Congo.

On Dec. 15—five days before the General Assembly adjourned for an 11-week recess—the UN took up Soviet Premier Khrushchev's proposal for colonial independence. Before the Assembly were two resolutions:

- A Soviet proposal asking the Assembly to approve independence within one year for all colonies, trust territories, leased areas and regions harboring foreign-controlled military bases.
- A resolution offered by 43 Afro-Asian nations calling for "immediate steps" toward complete independence for trust and non-self-governing territories and for the "speedy and unconditional end to colonialism."

**OVERWHELMING VOTE:** The Assembly turned down the Soviet proposal. It approved the Afro-Asian resolution by a vote of 89-0, with the U.S. joining Britain, France, Belgium, Portugal, Australia, Spain, the Dominican Republic and South Africa in abstaining. Afro-Asians were aware that their resolution would

*(Continued on Page 10)*

WHAT EVERY AMERICAN SHOULD KNOW ABOUT GOLD

# *Vicious circle: Balance of payments and cold war*

By Ed Sears

*(Second of three articles)*

THE BALANCE OF PAYMENTS is the difference between what Americans spend abroad and foreigners spend here. A balance of payments surplus arises when foreigners spend more money here than Americans spend abroad and, conversely, a balance of payments deficit occurs when Americans spend more abroad than foreigners spend here.

A country usually incurs a payments deficit by importing more merchandise than it exports. The payments deficit of the United States, however, is of a different character. This country has incurred a payments deficit even though it has exported more merchandise than it has imported. If the U.S. had normal relations with the rest of the world, it would be enjoying today a payments surplus instead of suffering a deficit.

In 1959, for instance, U.S. non-military merchandise exports came to $16.2 billions while non-military imports totaled $15.3 billions. On merchandise trade alone, the U.S. surplus was $900,000,000. So far in 1960, merchandise exports have increased about 22% while imports have remained unchanged. The surplus on merchandise may reach $4 billion.

**THE COLD WAR:** Other factors, like tourism, investments and profits from investments, insurance, freight charges, and gifts also affect the balance of payments. Americans ordinarily spend more on these items than they earn from them. American tourists, for instance, spend more money abroad than do foreign tourists in the U.S. Most of the time, however, the surpluses Americans earn on their merchandise exports are greater than the deficits they incur on these other factors.

The U.S. has a payments deficit only because it insists on fighting the cold war. The cold war costs are approximately equal to the payments deficit.

In 1959, for instance, the U.S. pay-

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# THE MAIL BAG

### Disagreeable fact

VANCOUVER, WASH.

Like most people on the Left, I was revolted by the travesty on democratic principles that constituted the recent elections. Likewise I felt that those who urged a boycott of the polls were in a very weak position. There seemed little likelihood that such a protest would make even the vaguest ripple under the circumstances.

Probably a better—even though feeble—service was done by the Socialist Labor and Socialist Workers' parties, where they managed, as in my state, to get on the ballot. But isn't this fact, the fact of a disintegrated, disoriented Left in this country the most disagreeable and revolting political aspect of our times?

For virtually all of my life I have watched various left-wing elements blame each other and the big business oligarchy for their weaknesses, many of which could have been overcome by courage, forthrightness and honesty.

Isn't it about time to recognize that the reasons for splits and counter-splits since the time of Debs are largely no longer relevant and that many of our problems today stem from a strong proclivity of leftists to look backward rather than forward? It should be abundantly evident that this is a time for the sharpest kind of introspection and soul-searching by leftists if there is to be the regrouping of the feeble, shattered ranks which is necessary for carrying on the task of building a new world based on universal justice, peace and abundance.

**W. L. P.**

### Scrap the splinters

NEW YORK, N.Y.

The GUARDIAN is giving good publicity to the efforts of the Left toward forming a third party, for which we readers should be thankful. The big question is how to form it.

The chief obstacle to a third party seems to me to be the existence of the splinter groups, or present minority parties. I suggest the dissolution of the present existing minority parties and political groupings, in favor of the united party. Let's call it, temporarily, the Peoples' Party, or any better name you choose. The program: peace, immediate banning of nuclear weapons tests, disarmament, coexistence, and a domestic program of civil liberties, housing, better education and abundance for all.

With the disappearance of the existing minority parties which now split and divide our vote to make it almost meaningless, and the appearance of one united third party, we progressives will have a place to go to register our protest vote against the two major parties.

**H. K.**

### How Crazy Can You Get Dept.

The average family in the United States pays about $1,000 yearly for our defense costs. (And there's no bigger bargain!)

Bert Bachrach's column in the Indianapolis Star, Nov. 24.

One year free sub to sender of each item printed under this heading. Be sure to send original clip with each entry. Winner this week: G. P., Indianapolis, Ind.

### Pauling-King ticket

PHILADELPHIA, PA.

The letter from Robert E. Schneider (Nov. 28) proposing support for Linus Pauling and Martin Luther King Jr. for President and Vice President in 1964 is very interesting. Let me say that I have already acted on the proposal. I voted a peaceful coexistence and integration ticket of Linus Pauling and W. E. B. Du Bois. I didn't wait for 1964, I did it in 1960.

However, this was but one person. I agree with Mr. Schneider that what is called for is a mass political campaign, an organized movement. The conditions can be developed for a Pauling-King type of development in 1964 or before.

**A. B. C.**

### The new radical

NEW YORK, N.Y.

The function of the Left in mass action demands a new kind of rank-and-file American leftist: mature, extremely tolerant and flexible, aware not of his superior knowledge and thinking, but of his minority position in American life and, most of all, as completely devoid of utopianism and rainbow idealism as American middle class orientation permits. An unpretentious materialism and flexibility along with faith in the value of our aims and energy for ultimate victory are the essence.

Otherwise, the most vociferous Left will continue to be thought of as dreamily unrealistic, politically narrow and even bigoted, and serving as a draining-off of rebellion and opposition for the purposes of reaction.

**Saul Gross**

### Away with fantasy

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.

I sincerely urge the GUARDIAN to stop deceiving its readers with the fantasy that a capitalist-imperialist state and the social evils that are its embodiment—oppression of the Negro people, mass unemployment, and the threat of nuclear annihilation—can be reformed away.

The task for the liberation of all society lies with the working class, and it is the duty of such a paper as the GUARDIAN to present and interpret the news from the point of view and the interest of that class. It is for you to point out that their struggle is with the bosses, their labor lieutenants, and political spokesmen, and that they, the workers, have produced all the wealth of the world, and only they have the power to repossess it and master it for the benefit of all society.

**Robert Kovner**

### Information, please

EL CAJON, CALIF.

Remember the Maine—and the mystery that surrounded its sinking and still does?

Are the present bombings in Cuba to remain a mystery too, or do you believe that Mr. C.I.A. Dulles could enlighten us if he would?

**Robert Karger**

### Investment risk

NEW YORK, N.Y.

The personal losses of millionaire investors whose properties were taken over by a new government in control of Cuba do not justify the embroilment of our whole nation in their personal quarrels or hard luck. All investment is a risk.

**Miriam Stern**

London Sunday Express

**"First, you folks tell me what you can afford, and we'll have a good laugh over it and go on from there."**

### Prescription

BLOOMINGTON, ILL.

One day recently the mailman left at my house a copy of the NATIONAL GUARDIAN, and this was my introduction to a newspaper that I had not known even existed. The copies have continued to arrive, and may I give thanks to the benefactor who sent in my subscription. Of course, I have since renewed my sub and the paper continues to be an illuminating beacon amidst the darkness of the popular press.

At this time I am sending in a gift subscription to a friend, and may I suggest that one way for the GUARDIAN to quickly double its circulation is for every one of its readers to take a dollar and send in a 13-week subscription to a friend.

**Ed Duehr**

### Doctors die too

NEW YORK, N.Y.

Our "friends," the American Medical Assn., are now getting ready to hornswoggle the people who are their patients, and are unleashing a great propaganda drive to destroy any chance of Congress passing any legislation on social medicine. They seek to kill any bills that would provide medical care for the aged. I suggest we launch a counter battle against these leeches and advocate a bill for socialized medicine for all, including doctors, who also get sick and die.

If doctors want a fast buck, let them get into some racket, although being a doctor is not always exactly immune from that status. So, social-minded brothers and sisters, this is the current target to vent your spleen upon. Let's win this fight.

**Dr. Nature**

## Ten Years Ago in the Guardian

I RISE IN OPPOSITION to the proposed appropriation for armaments.

Armaments per se have always meant nothing; armaments are merely the implementation of a policy. Armaments implementing a policy of genuine defense of a people's interest is one thing; armaments implementations in pursuance of a genuine defense policy is always in the interest of the nation, but these armaments implement an insane war program which has never been in the interest of the nation and it is today definitely not in the best interest of the people of the United States. . . .

The best defense of these United States is a policy of peace. . . . The best defense of America does not lie in this armaments race implementing this insane program of war. Such a race will lead only to a war which at best no one will win, but which will destroy civilization as we know it. The best defense of America does not lie in the atom bomb. It can be thrown in both directions and destroy us, too. The best defense of America lies in a policy of peace.

**—From a speech in the House of Representatives by the late Vito Marcantonio, as reprinted in the National Guardian Dec. 27, 1950.**

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Vol. 13, No. 11 401 December 26, 1960

## REPORT TO READERS

# Good Yule to y'all

O LITTLE TOWN of Washington, all wreathed in vine and bay, the hopes and fears of all the years are met in you this day. So peace be with the Kennedys upon this Yuletide morn; and may they settle all our wars in scrimmage on the White House lawn. We wish them time to travel, too, to many a distant land, to Katmandu and old Cathay and also Samarkand. And down the Strait from Palm Beach they'd greet Jack like a hero, if he'd take the wife and kids to swim on the beach at Varadero.

Here are some boons we'd like from Jack: freedom for Sobell and Slack, quash every T-H and Smith Act rap, put the Bill of Rights back on the map, take the heat off the foreign born—wouldn't that be nice for Christmas morn? Though Jack's not really in office yet, there's always the gift certificate. Delivery shouldn't be much of a job—just pass the word to Brother Bob.

WE WISH all manner of holiday joy to Bill and Celia Pomeroy, the four little maids of New Orleans, the embattled miners of Coeur d'Alene, the sit-in youth and the folks at CORE. Polaris Action and others galore who vigils keep while mortals sleep. We all owe them a heap.

WE THANK OUR STARS for W.E.B., Linus Pauling and Cyrus E., and ask a special benison on Milton A. Galamison and Dominies Uphaus, Baird and Melish. May Willard feast with particular relish. And for Frank Wilkinson a present wrapped real pretty: Abolition of you know what Committee.

TO HEAVENLY HOSTS we hoist a noggin: Essie and Paul and Cheddi Jagan; John J. Abt and the Hallinan Eight; Rose Russell and good Dr. Kate; Brendan B. and Sean O'Casey; our own Jack Fox and Hugh DeLacey; Martha Schlamme and Peter Seeger; Hesch Bernardi and Wallingford Riegger; Howard Da Silva and Irwin Corey—hope they're all feeling hunkydory.

UN FLAMBEAU, Jeanette, Isabella, for Bernie Weller and A.A. Heller, Jacqui Bernard and Anna Melissa; Louise Kellogg and Regina Fisher; Agnes Roche and Jean Fortier; Lottie Peirce and Refregier; Alvena Seckar and Nellie de Schaaf; and pretty little Allegra Taff. A bit of myrrh for Va. Durr; a Paternoster for old Bill Foster; splice the main brace for Homer B. Chase; and something with zing for Harry Ring.

HARPS OF GOLD for Robert Clogher, General Holdridge and Harry Koger, Vee Em Ess and W.P.C., Veni Vidi and Larry G., Walter Lowenfels, Conrad Lynn, and the underground at Ruder & Finn. Sevenfold gifts for Nathan Vann, A.B. Whitlock and Eve Merriam; Christine Sydow and Peadar Nunan; M.I.L. and Tom Buchanan; Sarah and John, Shoemaker Joe; Albert Muldavin and B. Belasco. A well-trimmed tree for D. & B., Laury Miller and young Mike P., the Elsinore folks and Guy Carawan, and our mainstay out in Parowan; Tom E. Graham, Joseph Kaye, and the folks in Agency, Ia.

BRANDIED FRUITS for John G. Hoffman, Larry Thor and Albert Bofman, Mary Irish and Joe Duch, and all our Buck of the Monthers and such. And a sugar plum for C.F. Crowe, who voted Prohibition, you know. Mull some ale for Mandel Terman, Alice Chase and Andy Berman, N. Agavian, Lily Bydarian and each and every vegetarian. A round of rum for Amigos de Cuba, M. Galliano and Ted Stuver; Etta Forsyth and Harry Nier, Faye Langerman and Rowland Myer, Patrick McDonough and Simon Gerson and our Irish historian friend, Pat Beston.

WE'VE SUCH A TROVE of names to rime (Nketse and Fritz Pappenheim), that they'll have to wait for another year (Fidel and C. Bovay Annear). So don you now your gay apparel, troll the ancient Yuletide carol, count your blessings, have great fun, and we'll see you all in '61.

**—John T. McManus**

### Grandfather fixed it

QUEENS, N.Y.

I look forward to your paper each week and wonder how I ever did without it. I have my grandfather to thank for my original subscription. I complained that being tied down to a rather reactionary suburban community with no one but my five-year-old son and four-year old daughter to talk to restricted my communion with the civilized, progressive world. I might remark that my husband was a bit to the right. My grandfather "fixed" me with your paper. Even my husband now reads it occasionally. We actually carry on worldly conversations together and I am losing my fear of being "non-conformist."

**Name Withheld**

BITTER SEVEN-MONTH STRIKE DEFEATED

# Mine-Mill loses to back-to-work 'union' in Coeur d'Alene

By Robert E. Light

STRIKING MINERS of the Bunker Hill Co. in the Coeur d'Alene mountains in Idaho voted Dec 10 to decertify the Intl. Union of Mine, Mill & Smelter Workers as their bargaining agent in favor of the Northwest Metal Workers, a mysteriously organized union urging a back-to-work movement. The vote was 672 to 621, with eight votes for "no union."

Lee Alkire, secy.-treas. of Northwest, said the strikers would be back in the mines by Christmas after seven months on strike. He indicated that Northwest would settle on the company's terms. It was also likely that Northwest would be taken into the AFL-CIO United Steel workers, which has been in the background throughout.

Mine-Mill has challenged the election on the grounds of voting irregularities and interference by local merchants. But even on the outside chance that the results will be overturned, the close vote was "astonishing" to Mine-Mill officials. They had viewed Northwest as a company-inspired, strike-breaking "fake" union with no standing among the strikers. With most of the labor movement supporting Mine-Mill, it figured to win by at least 5 to 1.

**THEY WERE READY:** Many factors figured in the loss. Widespread red-baiting and community antagonism took their toll. But Alkire seemed to have the best explanation. "The reason they lost is because the fellows want to get back to work," he said. After seven months without a paycheck, the strikers seemed ready to go back on any terms.

About 1,700 miners walked out at Bunker Hill on May 5, after nearly a year of fruitless negotiations. Mine-Mill, which had represented the miners since 1941, asked Bunker Hill to meet the pattern set by 95% of the non-ferrous industry: 22½ cents-an-hour increase in wages and other benefits over two years. The company offered 15 cents over three years and sought to weaken union security. It offered also a "management's rights" clause, control over safety inspections and the right to change work schedules without prior notice.

Aware that mechanization was shrinking jobs and that company profits were high, the miners were ready to make a fight. But Bunker Hill had powerful allies. The Shoshone County Anti-Communist Assn. began a relentless attack against Mine-Mill, which was expelled from the CIO in a witch hunt in 1949. The Common Sense Council, headed by Robert Robson, son of a former Bunker Hill official, urged a return to work. It endorsed the Northwest Metal Workers when it appeared and Robson became the new group's attorney.

**NO STRIKE FUND:** Idaho Gov. Robert E. Smylie withheld relief funds for months. Local school boards refused to supply free lunches for children until Mine-Mill agreed to pay for them.

Mine-Mill is a poor union and much of its strike fund was expended in last year's copper strike. The Coeur d'Alene strikers got no benefits except a strike kitchen and store. They survived on food, clothing and cash donations from other unions and individuals.

Ironically, Mine-Mill did not have to agree to an election. Northwest did not have enough membership cards to petition for an election. But Bunker Hill officials had refused to resume negotiations until the representation issue was cleared. Mine-Mill was so certain of victory, it wanted to bury Northwest once and for all. It reasoned that a sweeping victory would force Bunker Hill to bargain and that to challenge Northwest would mean further delay.

**NO FEES, NO DUES:** At a National Labor Relations Board hearing Nov. 22, Northwest officials testified that the group had been formed by a few individuals meeting in a private home and that it had not held a membership meeting since Sept. 16, when 27 miners were present. Northwest's officers were described as temporary and its typewritten constitution had not been ratified. The group did not meet the law's specifications for a union.

Under cross-examination by Mine-Mill counsel Nathan Witt, Northwest leaders admitted that the group had not collected initiation fees or dues. But they refused to explain where funds came from to pay for mailings, ads and office expenses. They also refused to tell how they had got a list of Bunker Hill employes.

Most assumed that Northwest got its backing from the company. But the United Steelworkers was also a good friend When the school board cut off free lunches, the Steelworkers sent a $5,000 contribution, but insisted that it be credited to Northwest.

**OPEN SEASON:** The Steelworkers viewed the CIO's expulsion of progressive unions as a license to raid. They declared open season on Mine-Mill and have never given up trying to destroy it. In 1955, the Steelworkers tried a raid in Coeur d'Alene, but Mine-Mill won an election by 956 to 319.

The defeat of the Steelworkers added to Mine-Mill's confidence of an easy victory over Northwest, which could not even claim to be a legitimate union. Mine-Mill based its campaign on its long militant history. It pointed out that it had boosted wages from $5.75 to $18 a day since 1941. It attacked Northwest as an "imitation union."

Most labor leaders also saw Northwest as a company creature. They rallied to Mine-Mill's support. John L. Lewis' United Mine Workers sent an official to campaign for Mine-Mill. Darrell Dorman, president of the Idaho State AFL-CIO, sent a telegram to the strikers: "Idaho labor disturbed by efforts of company to decertify legitimate union in favor of company union. Urge all members to fight this effort to destroy legitimate trade unions."

**PLEASE, DADDY:** Northwest based its campaign on the slogan, "Back to Work by Christmas." It skirted the bargaining issues in favor of red-baiting. It ran large ads using pictures of women and children urging "Daddy" to get back to work. It implied that Mine-Mill would blacklist businesses that had not supported it.

NOW HEAR THIS—

WHAT HAPPENS WHEN COMMUNISTS GET CONTROL OF A UNION??

The union is wiped out. Contract, treasury, Constitution and all. Instead of the Union being your agent to bargain a contract for your wages and working conditions it would become part of the Communist power over you.

THE SHOSHONE COUNTY ANTI-COMMUNIST ASSN., INC.

*God and the devil were the twin themes of the back-to-work movement in the Coeur d'Alenes. These ads (left and above) appeared in the Kellogg Evening News and the North Idaho Press. The prayer was sponsored by the dubious Northwest Metal Workers Union.*

The Shoshone Anti-Communist Assn. warned of the dangers of "communist" unions. The local paper ran a series by the Shoshone County Ministerial Assn. on how strikers should vote. Rev. Everett Groves urged the miners to "be sure that those seeking your vote assure that everyone's primary loyalty belongs to God."

Robson told a local Kiwanis meeting: "There are people in this town who would like to be the Commissar of Main Street or Mullan Avenue . . . and they exercise a tremendous influence."

Mine-Mill tried to answer the attacks. It published an open letter to "all business and professional people" explaining (1) "We make as a flat statement of fact that we have no local or national officials who are communists"; (2) "We have not and will not create a blacklist of business and professional people."

As late as a few days before the vote Mine-Mill seemed sure to win handily. A Mine-Mill rally drew 1,000 strikers; Northwest drew 65.

**THREAT ON CREDIT:** Mine-Mill challenged the vote after it learned that mail ballots had not been sent to some of its supporters who had left town but were still eligible to vote. It also learned that some merchants had told strikers that they would cut off credit if the strike continued.

Intl. president John Clark said that Mine-Mill would continue in the area "firm in the belief that the Bunker Hill workers will once again return to the ranks of our union.' Mine-Mill still represents 300 American Smelting & Refining miners in the Coeur d'Alenes, who went on strike soon after the Bunker Hill miners walked out over the same issues. Mine-Mill reached agreement with AS&R Dec. 18 on a three-year contract offering 15c to 21c-an-hour wage increases and improved pension, health and welfare benefits.

Clark saw the election as a company victory. He said: "Bunker Hill won this round. In the long history of our union in the Coeur d'Alene district, the company has made similar inroads but has been unable to stem the natural desire of its workers for honest union representation. The union has always come back and it will again."

MAVERICK UNIONS WARN OF ATTACKS

# Bridges, Hoffa stress need for unity

LEADERS OF LABOR'S major maverick unions—Teamsters and West Coast longshoremen—predicted increasing attacks on unions by Congress and state legislatures next year. They agreed that labor's best answer was to rekindle the spirit of union solidarity.

Harry Bridges, president of the Intl. Longshoremen's & Warehousemen's Union, and Teamster vice president Harold J. Gibbons, substituting for James R. Hoffa, spoke before some 5,000 union members Dec. 13 in Oakland. The meeting was the climax of a series of educational conferences sponsored by Teamster Local 70.

Hoffa, who was scheduled to speak, was subpenaed by the Senate rackets committee for a hearing on the day of the meeting. The hearing was postponed for a month, but Hoffa learned of the postponement too late to make the meeting. By telephone from Washington, he told the meeting that a "hand full of willful men are trying to destroy the unions."

Bridges said the attacks on Hoffa were designed to weaken the 1,700,922-member Teamsters union. He recalled that during the McCarthy era it was fashionable to find labor leaders guilty by association. A new technique under the Kennedy-Landrum-Griffin law, he said, is guilt by accusation.

**BASIC AIMS:** Bridges offered a program for unions: (1) re-establish solidarity—"an injury to one is an injury to all"; (2) convince union leaders that they cannot be "respectable" and serve their members' interests; (3) expose the Taft-Hartley and Kennedy-Landrum-Griffin laws and fight for their repeal; and (4) fight for a shorter work day and a shorter work week and, if necessary, "pick a day when things get shut down."

Gibbons called the McClellan Senate rackets committee "viciously anti-labor." He said that "day by day the gains of labor are being taken away in Congress, in state legislatures and even in city councils."

Both speakers pledged continued cooperation between their unions to win a just share of the fruits of automation. Bridges said: "I belong to the school of thought which believes that the problem of the machine and the problem of unemployment cannot be solved by collective bargaining alone. These are social problems which must be solved in another way. But we can try." He got a standing ovation.

'A HEART TO UNDERSTAND AND HELP'

# Pomeroy case is 'vengeance, not justice'

*Good luck to the Pomeroys and all those who give courage to those of us who are weaker in the struggle for a better mankind!*

* * *

*We feel sure the cause for which the Pomeroys are struggling will in the end bear fruit, and the people of all Asia, and indeed all the world, will gain their freedom.*

* * *

*You are to be commended for doing this fine job of assisting a human being.*

* * *

*It is discouraging, but they must have courage, and we, the believers in their cause, a heart to understand and help.*

* * *

*I sincerely hope that your committee can bring about the release of these two fine people.*

* * *

*I was shocked to read of the case. I am writing to the President of the Philippines.*

* * *

*We have never forgotten the Pomeroys and were much afraid by this time they might be dead. They are victims of American imperialism.*

* * *

*Read three-page coverage [of the Pomeroy case] in NATIONAL GUARDIAN. More fully convinced that HELL is man-made.*

THIS IS A SAMPLING of the heartening response to the full report (GUARDIAN, Nov. 14) of the case of William and Celia Pomeroy now serving the ninth year of life sentences in the Philippines for their aid to the Hukbalahap movement.

Since that report appeared, the facts of the case have been brought to the attention of leading civil libertarians in many other countries. The Intl League for the Rights of Man, basing itself on the GUARDIAN report, has asked the Civil Liberties Union of the Philippines to interest itself in the case. The case has aroused particular attention in Cuba and a leading Havana daily is preparing to publish a translation of the full GUARDIAN report and to help circulate it to other Latin American countries.

**EDITORIAL SUPPORT:** Laging Una, an English-language Filipino newspaper published in Los Angeles, said in a page 1 editorial Dec. 5:

"Because we believe that all imprisoned members of the rebel Huk organization should be set free by the Philippine government, we support without reservation the effort initiated by the NATIONAL GUARDIAN of New York to secure freedom for William Pomeroy, an American, and his wife, Celia, a Filipina.

"In wars between nations, prisoners are repatriated after the fighting has ended. The Philippine government claims that the Huk rebellion has been smashed. Since the Pomeroys and other captive Huks are really prisoners of war, not criminals, is it not high time to give them back their liberty in accordance with civilized practice? To keep them behind bars is not justice, but vengeance."

The paper urged its readers to appeal to Philippine President Carlos P. Garcia to grant amnesty to the Pomeroys and all other political prisoners in the Philippines.

**THE BACKGROUND:** William Pomeroy, a native of Rochester, N.Y., became enamored of the Philippines and its people during service there in the U.S. Army Air Force in World War II. After the war he returned to Manila, studied at the University of the Philippines and became well known in the Islands as a writer. He married Celia Mariano and later, when the government betrayed a truce with the Huks, both joined the movement and went into the hills. They were captured in April, 1952, and charged with rebellion "complexed" with murder, arson, robbery and kidnaping—acts they could not have committed because they were not present at the places and times specified in the indictment. But they were threatened with death sentences unless they turned informer; rejecting that, they pleaded guilty and were sentenced to life.

Since their imprisonment the Philippine Supreme Court has ruled that no such crime as rebellion "complexed" exists but refused to allow its ruling to be applied "retroactively" to the Pomeroy case. Under the charge of simple rebellion, they have served more than the maximum sentence, but their only recourse is to appeal to the President for clemency.

**WHAT YOU CAN DO:** If you haven't done so, write now to

President Carlos P Garcia
Malacanang Palace,
Manila, Philippines

and urge him to grant a pardon or, at the least, a commutation of sentence to time served.

Funds are also needed to conduct a maximum campaign for their release. Contributions may be sent to:

Friends of the Pomeroys,
c/o Lawrence Emery
28 E. 10th St.
New York City 3, N.Y.

Checks may be made payable to Lawrence Emery, Treasurer.

THE POMEROYS IN 1952
*Just after they were sentenced*

# The Kennedy Cabinet

*(Continued from Page 1)*

Freeman, who split with Minnesota Senators Hubert Humphrey and Eugene McCarthy over their support of Adlai Stevenson and made the nominating speech for Kennedy at the Democratic convention, was rewarded by being made Secretary of Agriculture.

AFL-CIO lawyer Arthur Goldberg, long a Kennedy champion in organized labor, will become the Secretary of Labor. Connecticut Gov. Abraham Ribicoff, a Kennedy pioneer, one of whose claims to fame has been the efficient enforcement of his state's traffic laws, will head the Department of Health, Education and Welfare.

**THE ONES WHO:** There is special interest in some Cabinet appointments that, for a variety of reasons, were not made. New York banker and Republican leader Robert Lovett was offered his choice of State, Treasury, and Defense but declined on grounds of health. Kennedy for the first time in history offered a Cabinet post to a Negro, but 74-year-old Rep. William L. Dawson, a long-time Democratic machine boss in Chicago, refused on personal grounds to become Postmaster General.

Herblock, Washington Post
**Gateway to the new frontier**

TRIPLE PLAY: TRUMAN TO ROCKEFELLER TO KENNEDY
*Dean Rusk (next to Kennedy) as the announcement is made to the press in Palm Beach of his appointment as Secretary of State. He served under Secretary of State Dean Acheson in the formative years of the Cold War.*

Chester Bowles and Adlai Stevenson were passed by for Secretary of State and given important but subordinate State Department assignments. Also Gov. G. Mennen Williams of Michigan, who was expected to head Health, Education and Welfare, missed the Cabinet bid because he had "too liberal" a reputation.

**IKE WOULD LIKE IT:** Kennedy's Cabinet was applauded by conservatives and the business-banking community, even as the hand-wringing began among liberals. The Republican New York **Herald Tribune** (Dec. 18) editorially said that "Kennedy's Cabinet . . . a moderate group of men . . . does not represent a striking departure from the Eisenhower course. The Cabinet Big Three—the Secretaries of State, Defense and Treasury—are relatively conservative men, two of them Republicans. And Messrs. Stevenson, Bowles and Williams, standard bearers of the Democratic Liberal wing, have been relegated to subordinate positions in State."

The **Wall Street Journal** (Dec. 5) greeted the first appointments of Hodges, Ribicoff, and David E. Bell as Budget Director with a story headlined "Kennedy's Pattern: His Early Appointments Underline His Eagerness to Reassure Business." The **Herald Tribune** used almost the same headline the same day. It said: "Kennedy creates Good Will with Business in Selection of Moderates for Cabinet Posts."

On Dec. 13, the **Wall Street Journal** reflected Republican concern that Kennedy would disarm them politically by taking in too many Republicans. It said that while "Kennedy made a good start" by reappointing Hoover to head the FBI and Republican Allen Dulles to head the Central Intelligence Agency, "there is no case for a fusion Administration."

**MARKET SOARS:** David Lawrence, reactionary columnist and publisher of **U.S. News and World Report**, called the new Cabinet "a strong Cabinet which will receive favorable comment." New Jersey's Republican Sen. Clifford Case had high praise for Kennedy's team when he addressed the National Press Club on Dec. 16. Associated Press business news analyst Sam Dawson on Dec. 5 predicted that a "Stock Market rally may hinge on the Cabinet posts." When the President-elect picked his Secretary of the Treasury, the **Herald Tribune** reported: "Market Soars, Sparked by Dillon Appointment."

Sen. Barry Goldwater (Ariz.), leader of the Republican extreme right wing, seemed so eager to support the appointment of Rep. Udall as Secretary of the Interior that he issued a formal statement that he was "highly pleased" over the appointment even before it was made. Goldwater was reported also pleased with Goldberg as Labor Secretary, since he is the man he "trusts the most and finds it easiest to talk to throughout the labor movement."

**THE HEART-BREAKER:** Generally, liberals groped for satisfaction in the fact that Bowles is to be Undersecretary of State, Stevenson U.S. Ambassador to the United Nations, and Gov. Williams Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs.

Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt on this basis called the new State Department lineup "a very good team." The **New Republic** found that "the intellectual common ground shared by these men (Rusk-Bowles-Stevenson)—and the President-elect—nourishes hope." But Max Lerner in the N.Y. **Post** foresaw that Kennedy was "likely to break the hearts of the liberals." And columnist William V. Shannon writing in the same liberal newspaper wrote:

"What began as a search for new men is ending as the acceptance of gray men. What is worse, political hacks and nonentities are beginning to make their appearance in the lists of proposed top officeholders . . . Mr. President, this bleakness of spirit is unseasonable. We await, sir, some early confirmation of our hopes for you and for our country."

Coming Soon

*A first hand report on Cuba*

***by John T. McManus and other members of the Guardian Tour***

• FILMS • MUSIC
• CUBAN GUESTS

**Date and place to be announced next week.**

THE SIX-YEAR-OLDS HOLD FIRM

# Louisiana legislature keeps segregated school pot boiling

By Joanne Grant

WHILE NEW ORLEANS' six-year-olds encountered fewer insults on their way to school, the state legislature continued attempts to "interpose" itself between the Federal government and the people despite court orders striking down its actions.

In an unusual order, the Supreme Court on Dec. 12 denied a Louisiana appeal before it was filed. The action came on a request for a stay pending appeal from a lower court decision calling interposition unconstitutional. A member of the legislature called the ruling "ridicullous, stupid and asinine as usual."

In Federal district court three actions were in progress. In one the New Orleans Parish school board asked that four banks be enjoined from refusing to cash school board checks. The other two, filed by the NAACP and the U.S. Dept. of Justice, sought an injunction against state interference with the school board. The board has been removed from office six times by the legislature and five times the action has been declared illegal by a Federal Court.

Charleston, W. Va., Gazette
**The Battle of New Orleans**

**$500,000 OFFER:** Meanwhile efforts were being made to permit the school board to pay overdue salaries. A New Orleans citizen donated $16,000 anonymously Dec. 9 to pay 40 teachers and 15 other employes, and a St. Louis heiress, Ellen Steinberg, offered the board $500,000 to keep the schools open. Miss Steinberg said that "people should back their beliefs with direct action."

The new school board president Louis G. Riecke, who said he plans to continue present board policies, said of her offer: "This magnificent gesture practically has taken my breath away." Superintendent of Schools Dr. James Redmond said: "I am so deeply touched with this. And I hope that other people who have long been silent will find this an encouragement."

The legislature has passed a resolution saying that teachers at the two integrated schools could not be paid unless they took jobs in other schools, but the school board replied that all teachers would be paid. In other actions the legislature 1) proposed a one-cent sales tax increase to pay for private schools; 2) said that the New Orleans school board can no longer hire its own lawyer; 3) provided that public schools may be sold to cooperative educational organizations; and 4) threatened an Un-American Activities Committee investigation of Louisiana State University. The latter action came after an LSU professor issued a statement calling the actions of the legislature a "disgrace and a national scandal [which] damaged this country in the eyes of the world." The legislature adopted a resolution denouncing the professor.

**NEW VOICES:** The Tulane University chapter of the American Assn. of University Professors protested the legislature's action and students at LSU sought at least 1,000 signers to a petition asking the legislature to "cease and desist from such tactics."

Civic and business organizations in the city at last began to speak out against the legislature during the fourth week of integration Dec. 12. Several business groups stated their opposition to an increased sales tax and the Junior Chamber of Commerce, the League of Women Voters and the Committee for Public Education passed resolutions criticizing the legislature. In a statement 100 business and professional men called for an end to street demonstrations, support of the school board, no interruption in public education and the restoring of dignity to the community.

**TWO OF THE TOTS WHO BEAR THE BRUNT IN NEW ORLEANS**
*The taunts are fewer, but the pressures are kept high*

Save Our Schools, an organization fighting for open schools, asked for increased protection so that parents hitherto frightened would return their children to school. The Parent-Teachers Assn. of a public school not yet affected by the desegregation plan urged the school board to continue to resist and not to resign. The association's resolution also commended Dr. Redmond who had been criticized for disciplining as truants children who stayed out of school.

**THE PRESSURES:** Mrs. N. H. Sand, SOS president, said that many parents who had returned their children to school could not take telephone threats and job pressures and had withdrawn their children. She charged that demonstrators had been handed mimeographed lists of SOS drivers with names, addresses and telephone numbers. Among parents who have taken children out of school after several threats were two seminary students, Marvin Chandler and Marion McKinley. After a second rock-throwing attack on his home Mr. McKinley said he feared for the safety of his son and daughter. Mrs. Delma Windham, who got a 24-hour police guard after telephoned threats on her life, said: "I never thought I would wake up in a free country and find I couldn't send my children to school."

In reprisal against Rev. Lloyd Foreman, who has taken his daughter to school each day, vandals threw tar at a Methodist church. In a sermon Dec. 18 the New Orleans Methodist bishop offered prayers for the souls of those who desecrated the church.

The Gabrielles, second New Orleans family to defy the boycott, have left the city to return to Mr. Gabrielle's former home in Rhode Island. Mr. Gabrielle lost his job and was unable to find another. Mrs. Gabrielle said: "I hope that integration succeeds. I still believe in the principle of integration."

## *The apartment*

THE APARTMENT was advertised in the New York **Times** from Wednesday through Sunday.

According to the Congress of Racial Equality, on Wednesday Wesley Tann, a Negro, saw the apartment and the superintendent promised to call him the next day. He didn't. A CORE group from Brooklyn went into action. Two teams—the first a white couple, the second Negro—went to see the empty apartment. For the first it was available, for the second it was rented. Tann called and was told the apartment had been rented, but when a CORE representative with an English accent called she was told it was vacant.

The following Monday, while the agent, Arthur Brown, 154 Nassau St., and a white couple discussed details of a lease, several other CORE members and Tann entered the agent's office. In the face of the evidence he capitulated and Tann signed a lease—six days after he first called. Tann said he had been trying to get a decent apartment for three years.

THE COST OF A VOTE IN FAYETTE COUNTY

# *Tennessee landlords defy U.S. in Negro evictions*

DESPITE A SUIT by the U.S. Department of Justice to stop evictions of Negroes by white land owners in Fayette County, Tennessee, evictions continue at the rate of 25 families per day. Hundreds have been evicted in reprisal against Negroes who voted last Election Day.

Negroes owning homes have taken in evicted families. These homes now have five to eight persons sleeping in a room. An urgent appeal for funds was issued by Mrs. Rae Brandstein of the Natl. Committee for Rural Schools, 112 E. 19 St., New York City, for the purchase of tents to accommodate the steadily increasing numbers of homeless families. "Funds are desperately needed," she said, "but warm clothing and food are also required."

Arkansas Democrat
**Better think twice**

**COURT SUITS:** The Federal court action instituted Dec. 14 charged 82 defendants with intimidation, coercion and economic discrimination against Fayette Negroes who registered and voted. Defendants include a bank, 24 merchants and 45 land owners. The Justice Dept. said that many Negroes face eviction Jan. 1, when leases expire, although some have lived on the same land for over 25 years. Justice Dept. attorneys have also filed suit in Haywood County to stop the eviction of 300 Negroes there.

In a telephone interview with the Chicago Emergency Relief Committee for Fayette County, a sub-committee of the Congress of Racial Equality, Mrs. John McFerren, wife of Fayette civil rights leader John McFerren (GUARDIAN, Oct. 24) said that efforts were being made to secure Federal surplus foods. "Our best way of doing this is through pressure from outside," she said, "for the local chairman who must pass on the request is a member of the White Citizens Council and will not talk to us." Mrs. McFerren said that the food situation will be very critical in January and February.

Coupled with the lack of homes and the inability to purchase food, Negro farmers are again unable to buy gasoline for tractors and cars. An earlier gas boycott was broken after five months through the help of an NAACP-sponsored nationwide boycott of gas companies.

The Chicago Emergency Committee, which has just shipped 70,000 pounds of food and clothing to Tennessee, called for a boycott of gasoline companies and two major firms which refuse to deliver goods to registered Negro voters in Fayette—Wonder Bread and Sealtest Foods.

**HELP SOUGHT:** Roy Wilkins, executive secretary of the NAACP, wired President Eisenhower, on Dec. 8, urging that appropriate Federal agencies provide prompt assistance for destitute Negro families in Tennessee. "Now that crops are in, hundreds of these people are being driven off the land they have farmed as sharecroppers and tenants simply because they defied white county leaders and registered and voted in the November election. They need food, shelter and clothing."

A group of University of Chicago students recently drove a truckload of food to Fayette. They were harassed by local police. They are touring other campuses with a film of their trip to stimulate other students.

In a recent speech in Chicago, McFerren expressed his determination to win the struggle for voting rights. He said: "Negroes want to get out of there and everybody runs out on the Deep South. If I come out of Fayette County, I'll come out feet first."

### Wanted: Good cartoons

SINCE its inception, the GUARDIAN has prided itself on the pungent, humorous and satirical cartoons it has been able to print from all over the world. Good American cartoons are the hardest to come by. If you see a good "Guardian type" cartoon in your hometown paper, send it in to us (carefully folded and with the source) in a regular envelope so the whole GUARDIAN family can share it. And keep sending!

THEY NEVER PROTESTED BATISTA'S MURDERS, BUT

# The misleaders of U. S. labor and new Cuba

By Carleton Beals

*(Reprinted by permission from Liberation, July-August, 1960, 110 Christopher St., N.Y. 14, N.Y.)*

THE CUBAN PRESS, with the exception of **Diaro de la Marina** is . . . bitter, though not surprised, at the attack made by the AFL-CIO executive committee on Cuban labor and on Cuba itself. . . . Not surprised, because the AFL-CIO has always been a dutiful echo of State Dept. policies abroad, and in its Latin American alliances it has always been tied up with police-state unions, the labor stooges of the worst dictators, the most ridiculous official paper unions, as was the case in the days of Luis Morones in Mexico, and with the labor confederations of Batista and Trujillo, the puppet labor groups of the Somozas, of the Venezuelan and Colombian dictatorships.

The AFL-CIO has never protested the brutal murders of workers in the Dominican Republic or under Batista's terroristic rule. Where was the AFL-CIO when the head of the Cuban pilot's union was found tortured and murdered? But now in Cuba, where no worker has been assassinated, where every effort has been made to improve working conditions, where for the first time in a generation free elections have been held in the unions, and where not a single Communist was elected to the 30-man executive committee of the General Confederation, the AFL-CIO leaders mount a white horse of righteousness.

The fact is that their own corrupt and blundering rule is menaced by any real threat of honest unionism anywhere. But a Eusebio Mujal, Batista's labor czar, who was an ex-Communist, who with the help of the army purged and jailed and murdered all labor elements who opposed his rule, and who fled with Batista, leaving behind among other wealth a plantation valued at $4,000,000—this was the man the AFL-CIO leaders could understand, and with him they still play footsie in Washington; he was one of them, and Batista could torture and murder at pleasure without a single cheep from the great American labor leaders.

HERE IN HAVANA, the July 26th Movement's publication heads its story: LION'S CAN'T COME OUT OF A YANKEE RATS' NEST. The wealthy, corrupt American leaders, it notes, who turn their backs against social welfare in Cuba, who never did anything to help the Cuban worker during 50 years of misery and persecution, likewise were the last to try to help the American Negro worker: even today they do nothing effective to stop the iniquitous exploitation of Puerto Rican labor.

They talk of boycotting Cuban shipping, the first Cuban vessels built and owned by Cubans that seek to break the long-standing monopoly that has cost Cuban enterprise so many millions of dollars. Why do they not boycott Franco's Spain, why do they take no action against Trujillo or Somoza or Stroessner? These are the real ulcers of America, the real menaces to the peace of America. As for peace, it is not Cuba that is strengthening its bases in Guantanamo and Panama, that is holding repeated military and naval maneuvers in Panama, Florida, the Dominican Republic (nipping a revolution in the bud), that is building up the military dictatorship of Duvallier in Haiti where there are no newspapers and where editors are either in jail or dead.

Certainly the AFL-CIO statement—probably the result of general brainwashing in the American press about Cuba, and certainly based on ignorance, misinformation and outright maliciousness—begins with the pompous statement that "loyalty to democratic principles has been characterized by the Castro government as synonymous with counter-revolutionary activity." This is utterly false, as any careful reading of the speeches of Castro and other leaders reveals. What they have said is that the bleeding hearts for democracy are often besmirching a beautiful word in order to try to drive the Cuban people back into their old slavery.

TIME AND AGAIN, if the AFL-CIO brethren ever took time out to read about Cuba, they would find that Castro has discussed democracy philosophically and in its practical aspects in the light of Cuba's present dilemma. By and large, his view is a nobler one than that currently mouthed in the United States: it has a reality that does not exist in the American labor movement, in which the rank and file, often terrorized from above by thugs and gangsters, possesses few if any democratic rights.

Other statements are wholly or nearly false: "The right of collective bargaining has been abolished." Utterly false.

"As behind the Iron Curtain, workers are not free to change their jobs without governmental approval. Hiring and firing has been converted into a government prerogative." Utterly false.

"The courts have been subjected to the arbitrary will of the Executive." Sadly enough largely true, except for the Supreme Court. But less true than under Batista; and, sadly enough, with varying degrees, true in almost every Latin American country.

THE RIGHT OF HABEAS CORPUS has been suspended indefinitely." True. This was also true during most of Batista's rule, but the AFL-CIO was then less concerned about human rights. It is also true in several other Latin American countries, and it is one of the first rights to go by the boards in every moment of crisis in the lands south. However, even now, it is possible to secure court action in Cuba requiring the government to justify an arrest. Numbers of revolutionary military and prison officials have been called into court on this count.

"The Communist Party is the only political party free to function." False. The Orthodox Party (at the time of Batista's coup the strongest party) still operates. The National Revolutionary Party (Grau, Prio Soccaras) still maintains an organization, though it is not active. The "July 26 Movement" for all practical purposes is a political party. Numerous semi-political groups function: student factions; Catholic organizations; the Rotary Club, and numerous business groups.

"The Cubans, our traditional friends, have been subjected to a violent campaign of hate and contempt for the United States." On the other hand, the United States has not been bombed and burned by planes flying from Cuban fields. It has not been treated to a diplomatic boycott which makes it almost impossible to buy farm machinery, weapons, airplanes, helicopters, or obtain credits in Europe.

If Cuban emissaries have carried the message of their revolution to Latin America, various U.S. Senators have gone up and down the continent falsely denouncing Castro as a Communist. State Dept. pressures on Latin American countries against Castro's government have been persistent and far-flung. And against what country—long before Castro became overtly anti-United-States-government— was a greater campaign of defamation waged by press, radio and television and in the Congress of the United States than against Cuba? Is not the statement by the AFL-CIO a violent, scarcely truthful, attack on the Cuban government? The false charges of union Communism, of "pro-Communist totalitarianism"? The Cuban Confederation of Labor was headed for 20 years by Communists, and there is no doubt that Communists are striving tooth-and-nail to recover lost ground but thus far they have failed.

THE AFL-CIO WEEPS for the "free unionists." It does not weep for the non-free unions of the United States, subject to iron-clad rule by an oligarchy of labor bosses of unparalleled corruption. It merely regrets the good old Mujal days of union terrorism and enrichment in Cuba. The first thing that Mujal did when he won control of the great sugar federation was to cut the miserable wages in half.

Now that the corrupt labor leaders put in by Batista's army have fled, no crocodile tears can get them back into power. The Sugar Federation—500,000 strong—is once again in the hands of its long-time leader, Corado Becquer, who fought tirelessly for the rights of the sugar workers, whose integrity was so great that even the great foreign corporations learned to respect him.

But let Becquer speak for himself:

"They announce a boycott against our ships—the first ships truly Cuban—and they attack the Revolutionary Government and the present labor leaders, who have been elected freely in uncoerced elections in every union in the country. What lesson in honest unionism can the AFL-CIO leaders provide? . What have they done for the exploited Puerto Ricans of New York, permitting them to be paid less than 'other Americans.' Have they any right to speak today about the new Cuba, when those same leaders shared with Mujal and his claque of Batista men the so-called continental leadership, without once protesting against the assassination of hundreds of Cuban workers, without ever denouncing the fabulous enrichment of the false leaders serving Batista, without ever taking any action against Trujillo in 30 long years of terror? These leaders of self-enrichment of the AFL-CIO merely serve, like docile peons, the interests of the worst monopolies; they are enemies of the real liberation of the peoples."

The Cuban leaders have not been idle. The press announces that in case a boycott is attempted against Cuban shipping, the unions of 14 countries in Europe, Asia and Latin America have agreed to boycott United States shipping.

Our dollar diplomacy and revived McCarthy policy toward Cuba are not winning us friends anywhere in the world.

*Carleton Beals is a veteran observer of Latin American affairs and the author of many books including* The Coming Struggle for Latin America. *He is chairman of the national Fair Play for Cuba Committee.*

FIDEL CASTRO INSPECTS A HAVANA LOW-RENT HOUSING PROJECT

*A promise realized—new homes to replace workers' hovels*

## Meany's Cuba adviser

**AFL-CIO PRESIDENT George Meany's adviser on Cuba is Eusebio Mujal Barniol, former secretary-general of the Cuban Confederation of Labor (CTC), who fled with Batista. William Worthy reported these things about Mujal in Fair Play, bulletin of the Fair Play for Cuba Committee, which he learned while in Cuba for the Baltimore Afro-American:**

- **During Batista's reign, Mujal acquired a 6,093-acre estate, pig farm and cattle ranch, valued at $4,000,000. The estate included a town, an aqueduct, an electrical plant, silos, pasteurizing plants and modern pig-breeding facilities.**
- **Mujal never explained how he got the estate. His only ostensible income was a $24,000-a-year salary from the CTC. For tax purposes his estate was valued at $70,000.**
- **When Fidel Castro called from the hills for a general strike in the cities to overthrow Batista in the spring of 1958, Mujal went on television to warn that anyone who struck would lose his job forever.**
- **After Mujal fled, the Revolutionary Government found that he had taken almost all of the union's retirement fund, leaving CTC bankrupt. Revolutionary officials say that they can only guess at Mujal's wealth because records show that he sent money to foreign banks regularly.**

**Mujal went first to Brazil and later to Washington, where he joined Meany.**

THE CASES OF MACKIE AND MACKAY

# Latest deportations show need to revise the law

By John T. McManus

THE CRYING NEED for a statute of limitations on application of the Walter-McCarran Act, as a first step toward a humane U.S. immigration policy, was tragically dramatized last month in Portland, Ore.

A good house painter who had spent all but the first eight months of his 51 years in the U.S., was deported to Finland, and a good carpenter who is 55 and had lived here since he was 23 was deported to Canada.

**HAMISH MacKAY:** The carpenter is Hamish Scott MacKay, who was born in Canada in 19[illegible], shortly after his parents, U.S. citizens, moved there and applied for Canadian citizenship. MacKay claimed that he had never rightfully lost his citizenship, since his father had committed suicide before he had completed the three years' residence required for Canadian naturalization. Nevertheless he applied for U.S. citizenship after his mother brought him and his brother to Chicago in 1928 so they could go to night school. He got his first papers in 1930 but was refused second papers in 1935 on the accusation that he was a Communist because he had organized and led Workers' Alliance demonstrations for jobs during the Depression.

MacKay's grandfather was a Scot famed for publishing the Bible in Gaelic. His mother, now 80 and a resident of Portland, Ore., was descended from Samuel Huntington, a signer of the Declaration of Independence. MacKay denied being a Communist when first accused, and tried thereafter without success to obtain citizenship.

**A GOOD CITIZEN:** Meanwhile he was married, was widowed, and was living in Linton, Ore., with his sons, 6 and 14, when he was first arrested for deportation in August, 1949. Neighbors came to his defense, praising him as a good citizen who used to come to PTA meetings with one motherless son by the hand and the other in his arms. Merchants, school officials and civic leaders recalled his work in the Grange and Boy Scouts and described him as "a willing worker for the general welfare."

The fight against his deportation, led by the Committee for Protection of Foreign Born, continued for eleven years, ending with a Supreme Court refusal last month, by a vote of 5-4, to stay his deportation. When the time for his deportation came on Nov. 18 the Immigration and Naturalization Service rushed him to an unannounced flight, so that his 17-year-old son Ronnie missed seeing him off for Vancouver. At the departure gate the boy turned away to hide his tears and dashed his head against a wall. His 80-year-old grandmother, his step-mother and brother took him home.

**WILLIAM MACKIE.** The case of William Mackie is almost identical with that of William Heikkila, who died early this year after having been deported to Finland in 1959 and then returned by court order. Like Heikkila's parents, Mackie's were U.S. residents who went to their native country, Finland, for a visit, during which William was born. They returned when he was eight months old. Mackie's troubles, too, stemmed from the Depression years and activities with the Workers' Alliance.

In 1952, after he returned from honorable service in the armed forces in World War II, the government moved to deport him on the word of two paid witnesses who said he had been a Communist in the '30's. Mackie denied CP membership but said: "I never deny I went to party meetings. There were dances, there were meetings, but I never heard any talking about overthrowing the government. They were all unemployed—I was trying to help the government."

**DISGRACEFUL AND CRUEL:** The Committee for Protection of Foreign Born fought Mackie's case, too, but the courts believed the informers. When the Supreme Court last May decided 5-4 to uphold his deportation, the New York **Times** and **Herald Tribune** called the deportation order "cruelty" and "disgraceful." Sen. Wayne Morse (D-Ore.) introduced a bill to quash the proceedings, but it died in the last Congress.

In the same 5-4 action last month denying a stay to MacKay, the Supreme Court also denied a stay to Mackie. On Nov. 18, earlier on the same day MacKay was flown to Vancouver, Mackie was flown from Portland to San Francisco and put aboard a polar flight for London and Helsinki. At the Portland airport when he left were his two daughters, a 16-year-old niece, his sister and his 80-year-old father.

**GOODWILL TRIP?** Mackie reached Helsinki Nov. 19. The Finnish Painters' Union arranged room and board for him and undertook to find him a job. He does not speak Finnish. The Finnish press denounced the deportation. The Socialist **Paivan Sanomat**, noting that Mackie had fought in the army and paid his taxes, called it "an astonishing act."

The liberal **Hufvudstads Bladet** asked whether Mackie had been "sent to Finland as a goodwill ambassador." Other Finnish papers urged their government to refuse to receive him, but the Finnish consulate in New York had already issued travel documents, saying that "as far as can be ascertained, he is a Finnish citizen."

Even the Portland **Oregonian**, while accepting the word of stool-pigeons against MacKay and Mackie, noted that "the execution of the law in this case will substantially damage the image of America in the eyes of the world," and joined Dickens' Mr. Bumble in the literary conclusion that if that's what the law does "the law is a ass, a idiot."

**NATIONAL ACTION:** In New York, the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born, 49 E. 21st St., has called a national conference for Jan. 14-15 to plan a campaign for the enactment of a five-year statute of limitations on deportation and denaturalization proceedings. Contributions may be sent to the Committee at the above address. The public is invited to a reception in connection with the conference on Saturday evening, Jan. 14, at 61 Rivington St., New York.

In connection with the ACPFB campaign, Mrs. Phyllis Heikkila has written to the GUARDIAN:

"I firmly believe Bill's sudden and untimely death was caused by the 13 years hounding and harassment he suffered at the hands of the Immigration officials, who acted under the authority of our inequitable immigration law.

"Had there been a five-year statute of limitation in this law, Bill would be with us today."

And Portland, Ore., would not have lost a good carpenter and a good house painter.

HOLD IT SON: RONNIE MACKAY, 17, TRIES TO BREAK AWAY TO SAY GOODBYE TO HIS FATHER

AN ARM-TWIST IS USED TO HUSTLE MACKAY TO HIS PLANE
*The Portland carpenter had lived in this country since 1928*

HIS SISTER SOBS AS WILLIAM MACKIE HEADS FOR HIS PLANE
*He was brought to this country at the age of eight months*

*Wherever a man may be in trouble . . .*

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**WOMEN ARE IN THE FORE ON THE EXPLODING CONTINENT**
*Men are heavily outnumbered at this recent political rally in Ghana*

**BOOKS**

# The true voice of Africa

WHEN Langston Hughes was asked to be a judge of a short-story contest conducted by **Drum**, a Johannesburg magazine for non-white readers, he was "moved, surprised, and quite delighted" to discover the quality of work being done by South African writers.

He appealed throughout the continent for further new writing by "Africans of color," projecting **An African Treasury.** "Much that came was in longhand, often very hard to read. But nothing that arrived was completely lacking in interest." And much was of very great interest indeed.

"During the past decade there have been hundreds of books by white writers, but perhaps it remains for colored writers such as these, native to the soil, to tell us most faithfully what Africa is like today."

"Give me black souls, / Let them be black / Or chocolate brown / Or make them the / Color of dust—/ Dustlike, / Browner than sand. / But if you can / Please keep them black, / Black."

SO WRITES Francis Ernest Kobina Parkes, and Hughes says that only a writer of color could be so conscious of **negritude.** "Through most of the writing that came to me out of Africa—from Senegal in the north, Kenya in the east, to Cape Town in the south—there runs a pride of race which the long years of colonialism could not erase."

The language in which many of these writers write is not their own, but acquired—English or French. Amos Tutuola, born in the Nigeria jungle, had very little schooling. Some were taught in mission schools, some went to the highest schools in England. Some were children of servants. Some had tribal marks still on their skin. All were in one way or another still close to their folk roots.

The result is a directness and freshness and force in the writing quite different from that of white writers either in Africa or elsewhere.

LISTEN to the rhythm in **New Life at Kyerefaso** by Efua Theodora Sutherland: "Stepping springily along the water path like a deer that had strayed from the thicket, springily stepping along the water path, she was a picture to give the eye a feast. And nobody passed her by but turned to look at her again.

"Those of her village said that her voice in speech was like the murmur of a river quietly flowing beneath shadows of bamboo leaves. They said her smile would sometime blossom like a lily on her lips and sometimes rise like sunrise.

"The butterflies do not fly away from the flowers, they draw near. Foruwa was the flower of her village.

"So shall we say,

"Shall we put it this way, that all the village butterflies, the men, tried to draw near her at every turn, crossed and crossed her path? Men said of her, 'She shall be my wife, and mine, and mine and mine.' "

AMOS TUTUOLA's rhythm is more familiar because his published work is known here, but **An African Treasury** has a fine example of it, a folk tale about the lion, goat, and ram: " 'Ha! I am badly hungry for food, what can I eat now!' And then he started to sniff the sweet smell of the food . . ."

Not only are there these implicit rhythms of the folk tale, there are the folk tales themselves, Hottentot and Efik tales and tribal proverbs from the Kroo, the Ewe, and the Baronga. Item: "A dog has never called a man and then beaten him" (Kroo proverb).

From Zanzibar comes the anonymous poem: **Song of the Poor Man:**

"Give me a chair / and let me sit in your midst / and praise poverty / and want. / The face of a poor man / Stays all crumpled up / by reason of the hunger and thirst / which are in his stomach. / A poor man knows not / how to eat with a rich man./ When he starts eating fish / he eats its head . . ./ But when a poor man is ill, / it leads his people / to show him kindness;/ when a rich man is ill, / to light a lamp / he must wait for a slave."

The poetry of this anthology flows with a clearness of water, pure, unclouded, singing. It can refresh the West.

JUST AS IMPORTANT is the voice of the native African as he analyzes and explores his own situation. In an article, **Return to West Africa**, Abioseh Nicol describes how it is feels to come back to a free country (Sierra Leone). At the airport, "token British officials here and there hover round, appearing suddenly like magic to make a few conciliatory remarks to the African officials, in case some white traveler, fresh from Johannesburg, Leopoldville or London, begins to argue. The American passengers are usually subdued and wear a resolute expression of people determined not to make any more mistakes. The crowds part a little as an African cabinet minister, fresh from some conference or financial mission, strides by, accompanied by British officials and African party supporters and relations."

At the end he summarizes the new attitudes: "I said I thought the measure of the success of the Western world in Africa depended on whether they were as good at being friends now as they had been at being masters. But I did not think they had too much time."

IN A REMARKABLE article, Onyenaekeya Udeagu of Nigeria describes the native democracy of the **Ibos As They Are.** "The Ibo looks proud because he is bred in a free atmosphere where everyone is another's equal." Further: "He is well formed. He is generally happy in his society where no ruler overrides his conscience. He likes to advance and he is quick to learn. He likes to give rather than take."

Phyllis Ntantala in a moving article tells the story of **The Widows of the Reserves** where nine-tenths of the men are drained off to labor practically under slave conditions in South Africa. The hammer of indignation falls heavy on Apartheid and one feels that the surging continent won't tolerate it too much longer. The "humaneness" of separating man and wife: "Would these men consider it 'humane,' no matter how sweet and gentle the officials in charge, if it was their own wives and children who were being torn away from them?" And if the wives were being returned to "droning flies, sick babies, dying stock, hunger, starvation and death?"

THE NEW FREEDOM is described in Ezekiel Mphalele's **Accra Conference Diary**, his on-the-spot account of the All-African People's Conference in Ghana in 1958. Tuesday 9: "Tom Mboya gives his address. 'We are determined to free Africa, whether the colonial powers like it or not. What we are fighting for is nothing revolutionary; it was endorsed by the colonial powers as part of the United Nations Charter of Human Rights. Although we believe in non-violence, we should not be provoked too far.' He says time has come when colonial powers must scram out of Africa, seventy-two years after they sat in Berlin to plan their scramble for Africa."

Mphalele, son of a washerwoman and graduate of the University of South Africa, is one of the new black African writers getting a world-wide reputation. He is being published in England and America and one of his short stories has been anthologized in Gertrude Gelbin's **Following the Sun** (Seven Seas Books, Berlin).

The non-fiction in **An African Treasury** ranges from discussions of tribal poetry and work songs to Frederick S. Arkhurst's study of **Renascent Africa.** The new voices are clear. As I. W. W. Citashe says: "Repair not to Hoho, but fire with your pen." Here is the excitement, the hope, the exploratory non-violence, the passion of the exploding continent. Here is the inner meaning of the moving slogan: "Mayibuye, Afrika!" "Come back, Africa, in our lifetime."

**—Millen Brand**

**AN AFRICAN TREASURY. Edited by Langston Hughes. Crown, N.Y. 207 pp. $3.50*

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# Balance of payments

*(Continued from Page 1)*

ments deficit came to $3.8 billions. U.S. military expenditures abroad totaled $3.1 billion. In addition, "foreign aid" expenditures equalled $1.6 billion. The cost of these two cold-war items alone was $4.7 billion or $900,000,000 more than the payments deficit.

**WHERE IT GOES:** While it is true that most of the "foreign aid" money is spent in the United States, thereby not affecting the balance of payments, a great deal is used for such purposes as paying the salaries of the entire Royal Laotian Army, which cost the U.S. more than $30,000,000 last year, and keeping the budgets of the Greek and Turkish governments in balance, which cost about $150,000,000. It is this particular type of "aid" which adds to the deficit.

Of the $3.1 billions spent by the military abroad, not one cent comes back to the U.S. About $650,000,000 represents what U.S. servicemen and their families buy overseas. Nearly all the rest goes to pay the foreign laborers who work on the U.S. bases, foreign contractors who build and maintain the bases, and foreign firms which supply them.

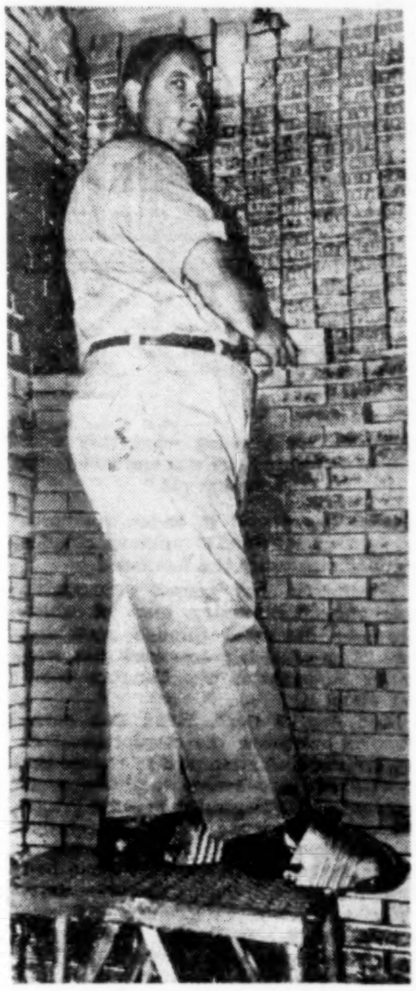
These "foreign aid" and military dollars eventually end up in the coffers of the big foreign banks. When these banks receive the dollars, they either invest them in the U.S. or demand gold for them. By law and by treaty, the U.S. must surrender gold upon demand to these foreign banks and their governments. This provision, making the dollar convertible into gold upon demand, has, until recently, worked to the advantage of the U.S.

**TIMES HAVE CHANGED:** It was adopted at a time when this country had a virtual monopoly of the world's gold. Other countries, at that time, did not have enough gold to back their currencies and to pay their foreign debts.

By agreeing to convert dollars into gold, the U.S. was able to persuade the other capitalist countries to use the dollar as a backing for their currencies and as a means of settling their international obligations. Since, at that time, the world was also plagued by a severe dollar shortage, the U.S. through its control of the supply of dollars was able to force its economic policies on the other countries of the capitalist world.

Today, however, this provision is working to the disadvantage of the U.S. The U.S., moreover, is in no position to repeal this provision. Because so many of the world's currencies are backed by the dollar—which has been considered as good as gold—any attempt to limit the convertibility of dollars into gold will cause a financial panic in most of the countries of the capitalist world. Such institutions as the Intl. Monetary Fund might well collapse. International trade would be seriously disrupted. Such action would intensify rather than relieve the gold crisis.

**THE DANGER:** Since the dollar shortage has turned into a dollar surplus the U.S. faces the very real danger of a run on its gold. Foreigners today hold about



**A BAR OF GOLD, ANYONE?**
*In the N.Y. Federal Reserve cave*

$22 billions of U.S. dollars while the U.S. gold stock is less than $18 billion. If all these foreigners decided to turn their dollars into gold, the U.S. would literally "go broke."

First of all, it could not honor all its obligations since the value of the U.S. gold stock is $4 billion less than the dollars in foreigners' hands. Secondly, the outflow of gold would cause a severe contraction in the U.S. money supply. Bank loans would be called, the credit structure would collapse, and the whole economy would come to a standstill.

While there is little likelihood that all these foreigners, many of whom are U.S. puppets, will demand gold, there is danger that enough gold will leave the country to disrupt seriously the domestic economy.

**A YEAR TO GO:** As was pointed out in an earlier article in the GUARDIAN (March 14, 1960), the U.S. needs about $12 billion of gold to back its currency. Every dollar in circulation is backed by about four cents in gold. This means that, if the U.S. gold stock falls below $12 billion, $25 of currency will have to be withdrawn from circulation for every dollar of gold which leaves the country.

The U.S. can, in theory, afford to lose another $6 billion of gold before the gold outflow can force such a severe contraction of the money supply. In November $500,000,000 of gold left the country. At this rate, the U.S. will reach this danger level within one year. This is why both the outgoing Eisenhower Administration and the incoming Kennedy Administration are very seriously concerned about the problem.

**CONTROLLING FACTORS:** The exact amount of gold foreigners will demand depends on a number of factors.

One is the size of the payments deficit itself. Many countries have their currencies backed both by gold and dollars. Just as every American dollar is backed by about four cents in gold, so many foreign currencies are backed by a specified amount of gold and dollars.

In many countries the ratio between gold and dollars is fixed by law. A law, for instance, might state that 75c of every dollar of currency reserve must be in U.S. dollars and 25c in gold. In addition to countries with such laws on their books, banks in most other countries as a matter of policy keep a certain ratio between their gold and dollar holdings. As more dollars pile up abroad, foreign banks, either as a matter of law or policy, will convert some of these dollars into gold in order to keep their gold-dollar ratios intact.

Another factor determining the size of the gold outflow is the relationship between interest rates in the U.S. and abroad. If interest rates are relatively high in the United States, foreign banks will convert only a minimum of dollars, just enough to keep their gold-dollar ratios intact. They will invest their remaining dollars in the U.S. to take advantage of the high interest rates.

If, on the other hand, U.S. interest rates are below those in other countries, foreign banks will convert a larger proportion of their dollars into gold and invest this gold in those countries where interest rates are high. Many Americans, furthermore, will invest their dollars abroad. This will increase the supply of dollars in foreign banks and stimulate the gold outflow.

**GOVERNMENT SPENDING:** Under these conditions, interest rates in the U.S. will be determined not so much by domestic needs as by the profit plans of foreign bankers and American speculators. This situation greatly limits the ability of the U.S. to fight recessions.

A third factor affecting the outflow of gold is the amount of government spending in the United States. Foreign bankers will watch the U.S. economy very closely to see that the government does not go into debt.

A government goes into debt by injecting more money into the economy than it takes out in the form of taxes. A large government debt can be highly inflationary. This is especially true if a debt is incurred in order to build up a war machine. Foreign holders of dollars will not tolerate any such inflationary measures. Rather than risk losing the value of their dollars through inflation, they will turn their dollars into gold.

One of the reasons for the recent rise in the gold price in the London market, incidentally, was the widespread belief that the Kennedy Administration was going to finance its military program by increasing the debt rather than by raising taxes. Many speculators were willing to pay a premium price for gold in order to get rid of their dollars.

**BALANCED BUDGET:** If the new Kennedy Administration wants to stop the gold outflow—which it must do in order to avoid economic disaster—it must (1) eliminate or greatly reduce the balance of payments deficit or (2) keep interest rates high or (3) keep the U.S. budget balanced. As long as the cold war rages, all the above steps will result in lower living standards for Americans.

Let us assume that Kennedy is unable or unwilling to reduce the payments deficit. He will then be compelled to keep the budget balanced. Recognizing the relationship between a budget deficit and the gold outflow, Kennedy in a statement issued toward the end of his campaign gave first priority to balancing the budget. He said:

"First, we are pledged to maintain a balanced budget except in times of national emergency or severe recession."

The import of these words is quite clear. With a balanced budget, Kennedy will not be able both to increase military expenditures and blaze the "New Frontier." Furthermore, as pointed out earlier, increased military expenditures under a balanced budget merely shift purchasing power from civilian industries to military industries. Since a dollar spent in the highly mechanized military industries today employs less labor than a dollar spent in the civilian industries, an increase in military expenditures will raise rather than lower unemployment.

**THE LOST FRONTIER:** Kennedy, to be sure, makes exceptions to his balanced budget promise "in times of national emergency or severe recession." Even these exceptions point to lower living standards.

No "New Frontiers" will be blazed in any "national emergency," Kennedy's euphemism for war. Those few who may be lucky enough to survive such a disaster will be barely subsisting, let alone enjoying higher living standards.

By the phrase "severe recession," Kennedy has indicated he is willing to tolerate a "moderate" recession rather than unbalance the budget. This certainly is not the path to the "New Frontier."

**NEXT WEEK: Cold war vs. "New Frontier."**

Eccles, London Daily Worker

**"Gold rush or no gold rush, Wilkins, you're not coming into the office dressed like that!"**

## Tribute to Dr. Uphaus in New York Jan. 11

A SPECIAL SERVICE in honor of Dr. Willard Uphaus will be held at St. George's Protestant Episcopal Church, 207 E. 16th St., New York City, on Wednesday, Jan. 11, at 8 o'clock. The service and a reception for Dr. and Mrs. Uphaus that will follow are sponsored by the World Fellowship of Faiths of which Dr. Uphaus is director.

Participants will be Methodist Bishop John Wesley Lord of the Washington area; Rabbi Robert Goldburg of New Haven, Conn.; the Rev. Loyd Worley, president of the Methodist Federation for Social Action; and Rev William Howard Melish, administrative chairman of the Religious Freedom Committee. Rev. Dr. Edward O. Miller, rector of the host parish, will also take part. The public is invited to the service and the reception.

## Homeless Kids

ALGERIAN REFUGEE CHILDREN are among the least privileged in the world. Their parents, having sought a haven from Algerian repression and war in neighboring Tunisia and Morocco, endure the privations of refugee camp life as best they can. To a small child this period can be a physical and moral handicap.

But it can also mean care and love. In Tunisia and in Morocco, Algerian refugee children's homes have begun functioning. They need money to take in more children as the stream of refugees keeps growing.

It takes about $16 to pay a child's stay in one of these homes for a month —50c for a day. GUARDIAN readers can help a homeless child enjoy a day, a week, a month of healthy food, a clean bed, and peace—perhaps for the first time in his life. Contributions should go to: **Secours Populaire Francais,** 16 rue des Jeuneurs, Paris 2éme, France.

JAMES ARONSON, Editor, The GUARDIAN

***will speak in the following cities on his nationwide speaking tour marking the GUARDIAN's 12th Anniversary***

**CHICAGO, Fri., Sat., Jan. 20-21**
(Details to be announced)

**MINNEAPOLIS, Tues., Jan. 24**
Andrews Hotel, 7:30 p.m.

**SAN FRANCISCO, Fri., Jan. 27,**
California Hall, 8 p.m.

(See Calendar for details)

**LOS ANGELES, Sat., Feb. 4**
(Details to be announced)

**DETROIT, Tues., Feb. 7**
(Details to be announced)

**SAVE THE DATES— and tell your friends about it!**

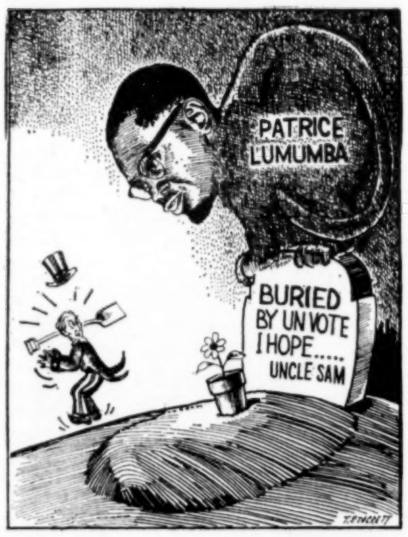
# Colonial freedom

*(Continued from Page 1)*

not have mustered such overwhelming support if the Soviet Union had not fought hard for an unequivocal declaration.

The U.S. delegation said the resolution was too sweeping and did not take into account primitive peoples unprepared for independence and others who might prefer to remain autonomous within empires. At a recent press interview Mrs. Zelma Watson George, a noted sociologist and singer and the only Negro member of the U.S. delegation, was asked the same question about "primitive" peoples. She replied tartly: "What's more primitive than lynching?"

**THE RIGHT OF PEOPLE:** Afro-Asians have long faced the imperialist argument of unpreparedness for independence and insist—as the American Declaration of Independence does—on the right of all peoples to freedom, irrespective of their degree of development. This difference in the degree of development, they note, actually prevails among the countries considered independent today. They assert that only after independence can a people freely decide whether or not to maintain any link with the former sovereign power.




Stockett, Baltimore Afro-American
**The cat that would not die**

Some U.S. supporters attempted to confuse the issue and split the ranks of Afro-Asians by demanding "an end" to what they called "Soviet colonialism in Hungary;" but the ranks held fast. India's Krishna Menon who has faced such attempts many times, has noted that Afro-Asian associated colonialism with certain specific characteristics: draining away of mineral and agricultural wealth from the colonies, economic backwardness of colonies due to deliberate stifling of industrialization and agricultural modernization, and non-representation in the UN. None of these apply to Hungary, Menon has said, since Hungary was a member of the UN with a voice in UN policy.

U.S. abstention on colonial freedom, which followed two weeks of bitter debate, was dramatically disavowed by Mrs. George. She stood and joined the African and Asian delegations in applauding Assembly approval of their proposal. Speaking to correspondents afterwards, she said she had tried in vain to reach President Eisenhower to obtain instruction for the U.S. delegation to change its position on the Afro-Asian resolution. She added: "I wanted to crawl under the table when we abstained, but I decided to just stand and applaud instead." It was later reported that Eisenhower himself had ordered abstention on the resolution.

**THE ALGERIA VOTE:** With such a clear demonstration of Washington's antipathy toward colonial freedom, it was inevitable that the U.S. on the following day would vote against an Afro-Asian proposal for Algerian independence and a UN-supervised referendum in Algeria. It seemed to have no effect on the U.S. delegation that during French President de Gaulle's visit to Algeria on Dec. 11 Algerians had poured out of the Casbah and other shantytowns waving the liberation fighters' green-white-and-red flag; shouted "Algeria is Moslem;" demanded power for the Liberation Front chief Ferhat Abbas, and were shot down in cold blood.

After five days of violence in Algeria, during which more than 100 Algerian Moslems were officially reported killed, correspondents had little doubt of the mass support for the National Liberation Front (FLN). In the UN after the U.S. had voted against Algerian independence, FLN representative M'Hammed Yazid said he was not surprised, since it reflected "the reality of participation by the U.S. in the war in Algeria on the side of French colonialism."

The Afro-Asian resolution was approved by the UN Political Committee. In the General Assembly it obtained the necessary majority. The overwhelming vote was 63 to 8, with 27 abstentions. Although determined U.S. lobbying succeeded in deleting the provision for a UN-supervised referendum, the proposal as approved for the first time brought Assembly support for Algeria's independence and territorial integrity.

**SECURITY COUNCIL SEAT:** The U.S. stand on colonial freedom also made clear why Washington favored Portugal over Liberia for one of the six nonpermanent seats in the 11-member Security Council. The U.S., the U.S.S.R., Britain, France and China have permanent seats. Washington has always given the impression that it had Liberia safely tucked in its pocket. Portugal, however, has granted the U.S. important bases in the Azores which form the Atlantic anchor end of the DEW (Distant Early Warning) radar chain. These bases come up for renegotiation in 1962.

**SITUATION IN LAOS:** The same reasons were also behind Washington's open intervention in Laos. This strategically located country was "neutralized" by the 1954 Geneva conference which ended the Freench war in Indo-China. The U.S. nevertheless placed it under the "protection" of its SEATO military alliance without consulting the Laotians.

Wall Street Journal
**"Actually, it's amazing what they were able to do before there was any such thing as foreign aid."**

Washington has poured $250,000,000 into the little country, most of which has been dissipated through graft and corruption of such proportions that even strong stomachs in the Congress could not stand it.

Last Aug. 8 Capt. Kong Le's paratroopers overthrew the corrupt pro-U.S. government and attempted to restore the short-lived post-Geneva coalition government of (1) neutralist Premier Prince Souvanna Phouma; (2) conservative Laotian elements, and (3) representatives of the Pathet Lao forces that alone had fought the French during liberation days. Phouma returned as Premier and persuaded Pathet Lao to agree to a government which would also include pro-U.S. Gen. Phoumi Nosavan, who had set up shop in a town 300 miles from the government headquarters at Vientiane.

**ROOT OF THE MATTER:** Nosavan, however, refused to cooperate and launched a war against the Phouma government with the active support of the U.S. and the Thai Premier, who is his uncle. When Phouma asked the U.S. "to stop shipping arms to the right-wing rebel forces of Gen. Nosavan," the London **New Statesman** said (Dec. 10), he went "to the root of the matter."

When the U.S. refused to comply and Thailand blockaded supplies via the Mekong River, Moscow airlifted oil and food into Vientiane and offered economic assistance. The **New Statesman** said that Phouma told the protesting U.S. Ambassador to keep hands off Laotian internal affairs: "When I want to do a thing, I do not inform the French or the British Ambassador. Why should I inform the U.S. Ambassador?"

**A RIVAL GOVERNMENT:** With the arrival of the Soviet Ambassador in Laos, the U.S. stepped up its intervention. According to the **New Statesman,** Phouma then "had to listen to a long written sermon by [Graham] Parsons, America's top expert in the area, threatening total withdrawal of dollars." Parsons, the **New Statesman** added, "next tried to win over the King [and] hinted at setting up a rival government." And that is what happened.

Nosavan's forces, equipped with U.S. weapons, were reported to have captured Vientiane and set up a rival government. Phouma and members of his Cabinet escaped to Cambodia. The Soviet Union, a member with Britain of the commission set up at Geneva to supervise Laos' neutrality, protested to the U.S. Washington rejected the protest.

**THE CONGO DEBATE:** A stormy session ensued when the Assembly began debating "the situation in the Congo." The U.S. grimly stood by Congolese President Kasavubu, although most Afro-Asians documented Kasavubu's subservience to the pro-Belgian "strongman" Col. Mobutu. The debate revolved around (1) a U.S.-British proposal requesting UN Secy. Gen. Hammarskjold to continue his efforts to restore law and order in the Congo; (2) a resolution introduced by India, Yugoslavia and six Afro-Asian nations, which would have the UN urge the liberation of all political prisoners in the Congo, including the legal Premier Lumumba; reconvening the Congolese parliament, and disarming Col. Mobutu's troops.

At GUARDIAN press time, the Assembly had not yet voted on either proposal.

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**88,000 VOTE SOCIALIST**

# Final vote tally gives Kennedy margin of 112,801

FINAL TABULATIONS of the Presidential election, released Dec. 15, showed that John F. Kennedy had won by a popular-vote plurality of 112,801 over Vice President Nixon. A recount in Hawaii may change the margin slightly. It was the closest vote since 1884, when Grover Cleveland won by 29,209 over James G. Blaine.

Kennedy got 49.7% of the vote, Nixon 49.6% and 0.7% went to minority party candidates. The total vote for President was 68,832,670. This was 6,803,611 higher than the previous record in 1956.

There were 224,931 persons who did not mark their ballots for President but voted for other offices. Minority parties received 386,253 votes and 116,248 went to the winning slate of unpledged electors in Mississippi.

The official vote was:

| | |
|---|---|
| Kennedy | 34,221,485 |
| Nixon | 34,108,684 |
| Orval Faubus, Natl. States Rights Party | 227,881 |
| Eric Hass, Socialist Labor Party | 47,549 |
| Rutherford B. Decker, Prohibition Party | 46,197 |
| Farrell Dobbs, Socialist Workers Party | 40,174 |
| Others, including Mississippi unpledged electors | 154,432 |

The total Presidential vote was 82% of the estimated number of those registered. It was 64.3% of persons of voting age.

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**A good turn**

DETROIT, MICH.

Somebody sent in my name and I became a reader. I am very happy with the paper and will never be without it.

**James Jokela**

# CALENDAR

## CHICAGO

**SAVE THE DATES!**
Fri. & Sat., Jan. 20 and 21
Hear **JAMES ARONSON**
Editor of the Guardian
Speak on
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Full details in coming issues.

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## MINNEAPOLIS

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and
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# CLASSIFIED

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## Harry Carlisle party in Los Angeles Jan. 7

A GALA CABARET-STYLE birthday party will be given in honor of Harry Carlisle on Saturday, Jan. 7, from 8:30 p.m. on, by the Los Angeles Committee for Protection of Foreign Born. The party will take place at 118 N. Larchmont Blvd., Los Angeles. There will be entertainment—classic, folk, music hall songs and ballads—by Bill Oliver, Bill Wolf, Lee Wintner, with Fred Rinaldo as Master of Ceremonies.

The proceeds of the party will go to the Carlisle Defense Fund of the Los Angeles Committee, executive director Rose Chernin, at 326 W. 3rd St., Los Angeles 13. Telephone MA 5-2160.

### Still going

VANCOUVER, B.C.

I'm a crippled old-age pensioner so please excuse the stingy contribution. I sure can't afford to go without the GUARDIAN. I pass on every issue to others. Keep up the good work.

**J. W. Austin**

# THE GALLERY

NEW YORKERS WHO HAVE OVERLOOKED Aunt Bertha in their holiday shopping can save the day with a quick call to Buckingham Livery at YU 8-2200. Buckingham—not connected with the family that lives in a shack by that name—will rush a gift certificate entitling the recipient to ride in a Rolls Royce driven by a liveried chauffeur. Rentals start at $9 an hour . . . General Electric employes in Phoenix, Ariz., are dreaming of a cybernetic Christmas. Some bright GE official fed an electronic computer "instructions" to "play" **Silent Night, Hark the Herald Angels Sing** and **Adeste Fidelis** and the machine has been emitting tones corresponding to the notes in the carols. GE officials don't claim it is an electronic "first"—others have done it before—but they say their computer has the widest repertoire . . . The Irish Export Board, at its annual Christmas party-publicity show for reporters, suggested these correct toasts for Irish whisky drinks: For a highball: "May you have the health of a salmon—a strong heart and a wet mouth." For a Manhattan: "Long life to you; and may you not be ill during the year for as long as it takes you to swallow that drink." For an Old Fashioned: "Here's health and long life to you. The wife of your choice to you. Land free of rent to you, from this day forth." The Whisky Distillers of Ireland took the occasion to announce booming sales in the "trend-setting towns" of Rye, Larchmont and New Rochelle in Westchester.

MRS. MARJORIE GRIFFITHS, a diaper service delivery woman in Palm Beach, Fla., deserves a Free Enterpriser of the Year award; she got the Kennedy account. She said that when she learned that John Fitzgerald Kennedy Jr., a prospective heavy account, was coming to Palm Beach with his family, she contacted the Secret Service man guarding the Kennedy residence. He put her in touch with Maude Shaw, the family nurse, and the deal was closed. Mrs. Griffiths also signed up the Secret Service man, who also has a new baby . . . Actor Peter Lawford said that he will not permit any brother-in-law jokes on any of his TV appearances. He is married to John F. Kennedy's sister. Lawford said: "It's an awesome kind of feeling when I realize that the next President of the United States is my brother-in-law. Sometimes I stop dead in my tracks and say . . . 'Gee, I know him, he's related to me'." . . . There's a story around Washington, concocted by sore-loser Republicans, no doubt, that Bobby Kennedy complained to Papa Joe that "Jack won't let me play with his country."

Huffine, Wall Street Journal
**"Do you have a chemistry set that doesn't have any atomic energy in it?"**

EXECUTIVE BOARD MEMBERS of the Natl. Conference of Police Associations, meeting in San Francisco Dec. 6, were warned of "communist efforts" to weaken police forces. Los Angeles police sergeant Norman E. Moore, chairman of the Conference's Committee on Subversive Intervention into Law, criticized proposals that civilian boards review complaints of police brutality. In answer to the Los Angeles ACLU proposal for a police review board, the San Francisco **Chronicle** reported, "Moore quoted communists as saying that police are the enemies of communists, and that communists must do anything they can to weaken, incapacitate or ridicule the police." . . . In response to last week's Gallery note that Cuba's UN delegate Raul Roa Jr. had been barred twice from speaking at New York's City College, a student writes: "Am glad to say that Mr. Roa finally came and spoke to an over-capacity audience." . . . The first television in Salisbury, Southern Rhodesia, is already a commercial success. station in Africa south of the Equator, which opened last month All available advertising time has been sold. The most frequently advertised product, according to the New York **Times**, will be headache powders . . . The debate in Parliament over the U.S. Polaris submarine base in Holy Loch, Scotland, revealed that the British Admiralty favored setting the base in Scapa Flow or some other out-of-the-way place. But American officials insisted on Holy Loch because it wanted the 400 men to be employed at the base to be near a pleasant town for recreation with their families. Holy Loch is near Dunoon, a resort, and Prestwick airport, from which Polaris submarine crews can fly home after patrol duty.

IT TAKES MORE than high gray walls to kill the initiative free enterprise generates. Vernon L. Pepersack, warden of Maryland Penitentiary in Baltimore, thought he had snuffed it out in November when guards uncovered a booming counterfeiting ring, operating out of the prison's print shop. But a month after it was "smashed," guards discovered that it had reorganized. Inmates were grinding out forged payroll checks, auto licenses, credit cards and identification cards and selling them outside. The ring was uncovered when someone at the Motor Vehicle Bureau noticed that the word "height" was misspelled on some licenses . . . The London County Council reversed the censor's ban on the documentary film, **The Warsaw Ghetto**, produced in East Germany from captured Nazi files. The film is now approved for adults only . . . Aristophanes' anti-war play **Lysistrata** was banned from TV as "immoral" in four West German provinces . . . Alan Fleischer of San Carlos, Calif., has a modern artifact that he suggests should be buried in a time capsule to confuse future generations. It is a red, white and blue lapel button with large black letters reading: "Do Not Buy Items Made In Japan." In tiny letters at the bottom, it reads: "Made in Japan."

—Robert E. Light

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**OUR ANNUAL GBS REPORT TO READERS**

# *A Very Merry Holiday and a Happy New Year!*

OF THE MYRIADS OF SNOWFLAKES no two are alike—a truly fascinating thought, bringing to mind the flurry of orders that snow us under each year. They come from every state of the Union, from balmy Hawaii to frigid Alaska, north, south, east and west and Puerto Rico, too. There were even orders for merchandise to be shipped to Poland, Czechoslovakia, the U.S.S.R., Mexico and Canada. Regretfully, we had to return these out-of-country orders because of excessive shipping charges, customs regulations, etc.

Now that calm has followed the blizzard we can recall some of those little snowflakes—

- The lovely note reading, "check for $39.20 for enclosed order. Rush delivery—all Christmas gifts." **NO ORDER.**
- Four items, totaling $15. **NO CHECK.**
- The stark simplicity of an envelope containing a $5 bill wrapped in paper inscribed "for Christmas cards." **NO NAME** or address, but a jim-dandy clue in the Chicago postmark!
- The order made out in careful printing, except for the blur at the bottom where the name and address should be.
- The generous order carefully itemized as to size, color, quantity, and check enclosed, lacking only one thing to make it perfect—**A SIGNATURE.**
- The reproachful letter from Montana received Dec. 22—"Last year my order reached me after Christmas. The items on the enclosed are intended for Christmas gifts. Make certain they get here on time." **NO COMMENT.**
- Send Guatemala skirt, brown and white, for the enclosed $10."—**NO SIZE.**
- "For the enclosed $3.75 please send me the record which has Pete Seeger singing something about marble halls."

BUT DON'T MISUNDERSTAND US—we love every one of you and are truly grateful for your loyal support.

Besides, like the late Fiorello LaGuardia, when **WE** make a mistake it's a whopper! Leading for first prize in this category is our offering of Soviet watches. All details were carefully worked out last August, with a November delivery date promised. We advertised them as available on Dec. 1. Little did the importer or ourselves reckon with the miles of red tape. The snarl is now so complete that no one can give a definite date for the admission of the watches into this country. If we do not have specific word by the first of the year we will, regretfully, have to return your checks. We hereby resolve never to offer for sale anything that isn't in our hands, so help us!

On the pleasant side of the ledger it seems that our readers are getting healthier—at least our vitamin sales for 1960 slipped below the '59 level. This good news more than compensates for our dwindling sales, but just in case the reason is that you are buying your vitamins from another source we're announcing substantial price reductions next week, plus new formulas. We think if you compare our prices and service you'll agree **GBS** vitamins are still your best buy.

As usual, our best sellers for 1960 were phonograph recordings. The Richter tour of the U.S. and the rave notices he received from all music critics resulted in a boom in his recordings on **Monitor, Artia** and **Parliament labels.** At the same time our other classical and folksong records made a very good showing. In the coming year we're going to retain all the old favorites and introduce many worthwhile new issues.

After all the adding and subtracting is finished, we're confident **GBS** will wind up with a tidy profit which goes to keep the **GUARDIAN** afloat. That, after all, is the purpose of all your ordering, our shipping, and the effort that goes into the Buying Service. That's why we hope that in the coming year we will continue to enjoy the patronage of those who sent in orders this year, plus the many more who have not yet used our services. We know of no other mail order business dedicated to bringing honest news to Americans each week.

TO THOSE OF YOU who did not receive everything you ordered (because we sold out); to those whose orders were delayed (because suppliers had temporarily soldout); to those who received an item they didn't order or failed to receive one they did (because we were over-rushed and under-staffed), we offer our apologies and a pledge to right the wrong as soon as you notify us.

And to each and every one of you—the finest readers and customers in the world—our heartfelt thanks and all good wishes for happy holidays and a year of health, peace and plenty.

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RESORTS

WHAT A "PACKAGE"!

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**1—Come for the weekend and enjoy a winter wonderland, or**

**2—Just drop in for our Gala New Year's celebration and stay for the night!**

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**Camp Midvale, Wanaque, N.J. TE 5-2160**

**NEWSPAPER**

## Fantasy for children will play Xmas week

THE MASTER Institute Drama Dept. will present **Topsy Turvy Town,** a modern fantasy for children by Lewis Allan, during the Christmas holiday week. Performances will be at 1:30 p.m. from Dec. 23 to 26 and 28 to 30, at the Master Institute, 323 W. 103rd St., New York City. The contribution is $1, with special rates for group bookings. Tickets are available by mail from the Master Institute. Telephone: UN 4-1700.

## *the* SPECTATOR

# A man of heart

*My guess is that history will look with no more favor upon the imprisonment of Willard Uphaus than it has upon that of . . . many others . . . For this is another of that ever-lengthening line of cases where people have been sent to prison and kept there for long periods of their lives because their beliefs were inconsistent with the prevailing views of the moment. I believe the First and Fourteenth Amendments were intended to prevent any such imprisonments in this country.*

—Dissent by Supreme Court Justice Hugo Black.

THOUSANDS AGREE WITH JUSTICES BLACK and Douglas and Chief Justice Earl Warren. During his year in the Merrimack County Jail in Boscawen, N.H. Dr. Uphaus received more than 3,500 letters to brighten his lonely cell.

The astounding thing about the Uphaus case is that his beliefs are so simple and humane—and held by so many millions. He believes in world peace and brotherhood, elimination of poverty, disease and discrimination, and the right of all men to the fullest expression of their creativity. He believes in the potential of people and in the potential of America, and he believes that the witch-hunt for "subversives" has prevented Americans from realizing their potential within this democratic society.

At his first New York press conference Dec. 15 at the offices of the Religious Freedom Committee, he urged that Americans, "both individuals and organizations, should go out to win the heart of the world." Looking fit despite his ordeal, and with the perennial twinkle in his eye, Dr. Uphaus, as a roving goodwill ambassador, could win the hearts of thousands. He did just that during his long fight against the state of New Hampshire, during which he steadfastly maintained that his conscience would not permit him to surrender the names of World Fellowship summer camp guests and staff to Attorney General Louis C. Wyman.

Green, The Providence Journal

**As free as his conscience**

WILLARD UPHAUS IS A WARM, kindly and loving man, creative and simple. He is determined, direct, outspoken and enormously courageous. He is a fighter: "You know," he says, "Jesus loved them all, but, by gracious, he told them off."

When he spoke Dec. 15 at the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee's Bill of Rights Day dinner in New York (attended by 1,000 persons), he said he had come with "one thing on my heart." That was a vigorous call to battle. "We have to bring our bodies as well as our minds and our ideologies into the struggle for civil liberties." He urged an "extra all-outness for 1961. This is our calling."

Dr. Uphaus is a Methodist lay preacher and a man who has great faith in Christian principles. He can speak of "the inner witness" and people know what he means, for they know that is what bolstered him during his long fight. His inner light shines through. What did he miss most while in jail? "The opportunity to communicate, to be with people, to speak, to organize, to persuade, to argue, above all, to be with people. I am restless. I am always reaching out to people outside the fellowship of understanding."

SPEAKING OF HIS EXPERIENCE in New Hampshire, he called the state the "Mississippi of the North," but added: "I always want to be fair; there are many people there who supported me." He described his case as a personal and political vendetta by Wyman and attributed his hounding to the state's general political atmosphere. Wyman, he said, "is a selfish, tyrannical, political figure. When McCarthy was riding high he thought he was going places." Yet, typically, when he was released from jail, Dr. Uphaus said of Wyman: "If there is anything at any time that I could do for him I would do it. It is the role of a Christian—he must forgive."

At the dinner Dr. Uphaus spoke of "this great company" of fighters for the American tradition of liberty. One felt while listening to him that the company could only grow.

The "great company" has been joined by many people—among them Dr. Linus Pauling who also spoke at the dinner and called for action to abolish the witch-hunting committees. His theme was that war is waste, that we must fight to do away with it, that we must join in demonstrations for civil liberties and civil rights.

To know that these two great men are part of this "great company," to hear them speak, to see them with arms about each other's shoulders is warm reassurance of the ultimate triumph of decency.

—**Joanne Grant**